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the same ward; although some marriages may occur between persons of different wards, perhaps still according to special circumstances. The considering of the calpulli as a clan with endogamous tendencies, which is even now found as a vestige in Tepoztlán, removes these contradictions, which can also be taken as an argument in favor of the new position which is here presented with respect to the calpulli.

names of some isolated towns which seem to have been calpullis (like Pochtlan, Amantla, etc.) and the second is suggested by the affirmations of marriages between different lords (see p. 72).

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We have, finally, as an indication of the existence of this type of clan, an argument in favor of the fact that among the Tenochcas the reckoning of kinship was ambilateral. This refers also to the members of the population's governing group; but the fact that they also had their calpulli and for the reasons presented in the paragraph concerning their habit of endogamy, largely invalidates the objections which could be made in this respect. In a large number of cases, in the genealogies of the Mexico-Tenochtitlan rulers both lines, that of the father and that of the mother, are taken to fix the inheritance of each person; this is clearly an ambilateral characteristic. Of course it can be taken to refer to the reckoning of kinship within the family, which is always ambilateral, and not to the reckoning of kinship through common descent, of the clan, which could be unilateral of ambilateral. But in part this objection is done away with /p. 69/ when we see that in the sources from the same period, but referring to other groups than the Tenochcan, connections are made always through persons of male sex as if they were unilateral (11), and only

11. Espejo, Antonieta and Monzon, 1945, p. 48.

in those [sources] dealing with the Tenochcas (and others who do not interest us now) are connections made through both sexes. According to this, we have the right to think that the reckoning of kinship common descent was made ambilaterally among the Tenochcas (12).

12. Redfield tells us, speaking of the calpullis, which are now wards of Tepoztlán, that they tend to include

X618 groups of uninterrupted family lines which trace their descent through the father's line. (Redfield, R., ●611 1928, p. 294). This would not give a unilateral reckoning of kinship if marriages obtained within the same ward, since they would be impossible in patrilineal (or matrilineal) exogamous groups. It can be said that it is more common to follow the father's line in the reckoning of descent, and nothing more.

X618 The certainty of the calpulli's being a clan, joined with: the proofs that they did not have exogamous customs with patrilineal reckoning of kinship through common descent; the slight possibility of their having had matrilineal [customs]; the indications that they had ambilateral reckoning of kinship through common descent; and that they had a tendency to endogamy; these, all together, are arguments for asserting with confidence that the calpullis were clans, ambilateral and with an endogamous tendency, and there is nothing—at least according to the documents which we now have at our disposal—to cause us to think that they were not clans, or that they were exogamous and unilateral.

/p. 70/ Chapter 8

DIFFERENTIAL INHERITANCE OF RANK AND THE CALPULLIS

X618 We still need to find out what was the relation between the clans 565 and the social strata, which undoubtedly occurred among the Tenochcas. We have seen how the calpulli presented ambilateral clan characteristics (kinship through common descent, ambilateral reckoning of this kinship, and a tendency towards endogamy). Let us now see how another of the characteristics of an ambilateral clan also occurred in the calpulli, a characteristic which has brought about its being called "pyramidal" (1): the internal inequality which con-

1. Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 11.

trasts with the generally very equalitarian character of exogamous clans. This is of much importance because the principal thesis of one

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

About the time these changes occurred, the dignity of "tlacatecuhtli" seems to have become a permanent feature in the govern-

XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 334 and 338). Cortés himself (Vedia, I, carta segunda, pp. 34 and 35), speaks of the great halls contained in what he calls the "house of Motecsuma." Bernal-Dies del Castillo (Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 96 and 97), confirms. See also Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 342 and 343. "Adondé él moraba y residia á la continua, lláman Tepac, que es como decir palacio . . . . . — . . . habia en él muchas salas.") Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIV, p. 302. "El palacio de los Señores ó casas reales, tenía muchas salas.") The tecpan was near the centre of the pueblo. See Gomara (Vedia I, p. 341. "Llegaron pues á un patio grande, recamera de los idolos, que fué casas de Axaláca.") Cortés (Vedia, I, "Carta Tercera," pp. 74 and 78, etc.).

Bernal-Dies (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84, etc.). According to Sr. Icazbalceta ("México in 1554, note 38, p. 182, to the 2d Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar), the "old houses of Montezuma"-occupied (about) the square west of the present site of the Cathedral. The "new houses" were in place of where the National palace now stands. It is admitted that the Cathedral occupies the site of the main "teocalli," or the old centre of the ancient pueblo. (Torquemada, Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 290). The correctness of this is conclusively proven by Sr. Icazbalceta in note 40, to the Second Dialogue of Cervántes (p. 194, and plate on p. 197, also the important dissertation on page 201), and in note 51. Thus the central location of the tecpan at Mexico remains established.

The permanent residence of the head war-chief, of his household, and of some assistants,—at the tecpan, is too frequently related to demand further proof, but it is not superfluous here to investigate the point: that this residence was connected,—not with the *person* and *descendancy* of that chief, but with the *office* alone.

We find it mentioned that the buildings occupied by the Spaniards, when they first came to the pueblo of México were the "house of the father of Montezuma" (Axayacatzin, probably). All the eye-witnesses concur in it and we need not refer to them in detail. There was, consequently, a house where the *kingship of the chief lived*,—aside from the tecpan, for since descent with the Mexicans was in the male line,—the son continued to occupy the dwellings of his father and (with communal living as practised in Mexico), of that father's consanguine relations. (That these sons and descendants were bred up to the ordinary pursuits of life, like any other Indian of Mexico, results from the speech as reported by Sahagun (Lib. V, cap. XV), of an old chief to his sons, wherein he exhorts them to cultivate the mechanical arts, and agriculture, adding the remarkable words, p. 117, "nowhere have I seen that any one may maintain himself through his noble descendancy alone.") In the case of Ahuitzotl, Durán relates (Cap. XLI, p. 327), "all the chief and principal men, with the whole tribe, going to the place where the sons of the Kings and great men were kept ("recogidos"), and where they instructed and furthered them in virtuous things, in the use of arms and good manners. Then they took out (Ahuitzotl) from the others, and brought him to the royal palace." Tezozomoc (Cap. LX, p. 160), speaking of the election of Ahuitzotl says: "and these twelve Mexican chiefs went to bring the King Ahuitzotl from the house of Tlacocalco." "And they said nothing to him until they were in the great palace" (Cap. LXI, p. 160). The election of Montezuma, however, gives occasion to that author, for another and very important statement (Cap. LXXXII, p. 143). "For, know ye, that many of the sons of the Kings past, are brought up now, some of which have become singers, others Cuachimecs, others Otomies, and the others are preparing to assume your titles of Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Ticocyahuacatl, Acolnahuacatl, Huehuahuacatl, and a number of others who are and dwell in the principal house Calmecac." It is further exposed, how unwise it would be to elect an *unmarried* man, and finally Montezuma was chosen, whose age at that time is given at thirty-four years, and he was taken out of the Calmecac and escorted to the chief house (tecpan). But the strongest evidence results from the fact that the office was *elective*, and not hereditary. How, while the incumbent of an office changed, could the family of his predecessor still remain in possession of the official building?

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

of the former, are distinguished by the terminology of relationship. In the case of the former, relatives are at once classified; in the latter instance, they are merely described. Now, our investigations of the customs of Inheritance among the ancient Mexicans have led us to the conclusion that they had already achieved progress to *descent in the male line*.[13] *Actual* family existed among them in its incipient form at least.

But we meet here with a singular feature in designating relationships. *Ascending* from the "Ego," as point of departure, we find the following terms in the Mexican (Nahuatl) language.

Father: "tatli"—"teta."[14]

Brother of father or mother (paternal or maternal uncle): "tlatli"—"tetla."[15]

Grandfather: "tecul." Granduncle: "tecol."[16]

Great-grandfather: "achtontli."[17]

[13] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, note 106).

[14] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*," Part Ia, p. 91; IIa, pp. 106, 91). Besides the plural "tetatzin," the names, "yxcacauhti," "teixcacauh," are also mentioned (I, p. 91). The former is defined (II, p. 48) as "natural father." It derives from "Ixcalia" or "ninoixcalia"—"to give life" and "acauhtli." The latter evidently is an abbreviation or corruption from "nitla teacheauhtia"—"to be preferred in what is distributed, or in a distribution" (II, p. 2), which in turn is at the root of "teachcauhtin"—"elder brother" (II, p. 91). It is superfluous here to quote authorities in support of the fact that "ach" is frequently corrupted to "ac," or the inverse. In Cakchiquel: "Tata" See *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Grammaire de la Langue Quichée, etc.*" pp. 217, 218). The root "Ta" is also found in other Indian idioms, See: *Gatschet* (*Zwölf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nordamerikas*," p. 137).

[15] *Molina* (I, p. 130; II, p. 140.) All the difference consists in the insertion of the letter "l" after the "t." "Tetla" is but an abbreviation of 'Te-tatli," from "Tehuatl" thou, p. 94, and father, which is also shown in the alteration of "tatli" to "tayta" or "tata;" the name given by children to their father (p. 91, II). Corresponds to the qquiché "tat" (*Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Grammaire, etc."* p. 218), and to the Muysca "Ze paba" ("Pába" father). *Morgan* after *Uricoechea* ("*Systems of consanguinity*," p. 265).

[16] *Molina* (II, p. 94; II, p. 98). Here again the change from "n" to "o" appears, which is so frequent among older authors. For inst., *Tzococo* and *Tzocuco*, *Omeiochtli* and *Omeiuchtli*, *Tlacopan* and *Tlacahuepan*, *Olli* and *Ulli*, etc. etc. Such changes are very excusable, they proceed from the Indian pronunciation of vowels. On this subject compare, although it concerns properly but the Qquichua idiom of Peru, the excellent essay of Señor Don *Gavino Pacheco y Zegarra* of Puno, entitled "*Alphabet phonétique de la langue Qquichua*," published in the 2nd volume of the "*Compte Rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes*," at Nancy, in 1875. He says (p. 303) "D'autre part, le kehua différant essentiellement des langues romanes, surtout en ce qui concerne les sons élémentaires, il est impossible de donner une idée exacte de ces sons au moyen du seul alphabet latin. . . ." In regard to "O" and "U," see pp. 306, 307, 308. etc. What the author says of the Qquichua applies exactly to the Nahuatl also. See *Molina* ("Prologo y Avisos," 3d page "Aviso septimo").

[17] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, p. 2). Literally, "little preferred one." Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. I, p. 5, 3d Vol).